

## INSIDE COMMITTEE OF 100

The Committee's Assembly in Parliament Square on April 29 is discussed by Alan Litherland and Michael Randle

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## CIVIL DEFENCE IN AMERICA

David McReynolds on next week's demonstrations against official CD alerts

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# PEACE NEWS

FOR NON-VIOLENCE AND UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT

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# SIT-DOWN PLANS IN LONDON AND OSLO

## Committee of 100 to 'occupy' Parliament Sq.

By Peace News Reporter

**M**ORE details have been released about the plans to "occupy Parliament Square" by the Committee of 100 and its supporters.

In a briefing document issued by the Committee demonstrators are told to sit on the roadway which surrounds three sides of the Square. A platform is to be erected on the South side and a public forum is to be held. Speeches will be made by people taking part in the sit-down.

In a message to *Peace News* Earl Russell said:

"One point we want to make very strongly during this assembly is that people all over the world who have no direct say in the policies of the British Government are threatened with suffering and death by the nuclear policies being pursued by the Government. We think

part in the demonstration organised by the Committee on February 18 outside the Ministry of Defence.

A general briefing meeting is to be held in Conway Hall on Saturday, April 22, at 2 p.m. All of the organisation is being carried out from the committee office at 13, Goodwin Street, London, N.4. Telephone ARChway 1239.

## Norwegians will be outside NATO Council in May

From a Correspondent in Oslo

**W**HEN the NATO Council meets in Oslo in May it will be met with a Norwegian-initiated demonstration of opposition to all nuclear weapons.

Oslo police have refused permission for the demonstration, planned to be held outside the Storting (parliament) where the Council is to meet. The organisers, however, have announced that the demonstration will be held in defiance of the police prohibition if continued efforts to obtain permission fail.

It will then take the form of a non-violent

civil disobedience sit-down.

Plans are being made by the Norwegian "Action Committee of Ten" which includes, among others, Carl Martin Borgen, author Finn Carling, and sportswoman Anne Marit Sletten. Each of the ten members of the action committee is responsible for co-ordinating plans with five "lieutenants," and each of these five is responsible for ten active workers—making an effective organisation of 500. It is not, however, known how many of these will undertake civil disobedience.

Supporters of nuclear disarmament in other NATO countries who are willing to

## ENTERING NOTTINGHAM



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In a message to *Peace News* Earl Russell said:

"One point we want to make very strongly during this assembly is that people all over the world who have no direct say in the policies of the British Government are threatened with suffering and death by the nuclear policies being pursued by the Government. We think this point can be made most forcibly if there are as many representatives as possible from countries overseas. We are trying to make it an international assembly."

Michael Randle disclosed that permission to use Trafalgar Square as a rallying point for the demonstrators has not yet been granted by the Ministry of Works. In the event of this permission not being granted the demonstrators will be told to assemble at the top of Whitehall at ten minutes to three. In talking about this, the secretary stated that it was impossible to plan for every contingency.

If the demonstrators are stopped at the top of Whitehall the briefing document advises them to sit down in front of the police cordon. A feature running throughout this document and repeated several times is an appeal for non-violence no matter what the provocation.

The Committee of 100 called a press conference for Thursday of this week. Michael Scott, George Melly, Alan Lovell, George Clark (Chief Marshal), and Michael Randle (Secretary to the Committee) were to be among those who would face the press and give the details of the demonstration.

In answer to a question about the Grosvenor Square sit-down which took place on Easter Monday following the Aldermaston March he said the Committee of 100 were in no way involved with the planning or execution of this sit-down. The Committee had discussed the matter before Easter and had decided that it would be inadvisable to arrange any activity on that day.

Indications so far showed that interest in the demonstration planned for April 29 was running quite high. Over 100,000 leaflets had now been distributed. Posters would be appearing on the London Transport underground stations. It was hoped that the numbers attending would equal those taking

part in the demonstration organised by the Committee on February 18 outside the Ministry of Defence.

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Supporters of nuclear disarmament in other NATO countries who are willing to accept the non-violent discipline are invited to Oslo to join the sit-down on May 8-10, writing to Hr. Per Olav Tiller, Munthesgate 31, Oslo, Norway.

## VOLUNTEERS

Some volunteers are already expected from Denmark and West Germany. This will probably be the first deliberate protest demonstration of an illegal nature in Norway since the war-time Nazi occupation.

This initiative of the "Action Committee of Ten" is in addition to the work of the "Group of Thirteen" which initiated the current campaign against nuclear weapons, aimed particularly against nuclear weapons on Norwegian territory. High Norwegian military officers have requested that Norwegian forces be equipped with "tactical" nuclear weapons, and the Norwegian Labour Government's first response was "perhaps." The chances of Government acquiescence to the demand now appear reduced since the campaign began.

A Gallup poll indicates strong resentment in Norway against nuclear weapons, but a spokesman for the Action Committee described people's willingness to take action as "still weak."

The Group of Thirteen has initiated a nation-wide petition campaign against nuclear weapons, to which 150,000 signatures have been attached to date. The Action Committee of Ten has obtained 1,000 signatures of well-known citizens to an appeal to the Storting for international action to ban nuclear weapons.

The Action Committee of Ten is also planning a demonstration against French Sahara nuclear tests.

## ENTERING NOTTINGHAM



See back page column 3 for story.

Photo : R. Rawlinson

## Over £2,000 raised at 'end hanging' meeting

### PEACE NEWS REPORTER

**F**OLLOWING the mass rallies in London on Tuesday evening organised by the National Campaign for the Abolition of Capital Punishment, there is to be a series of autumn meetings in Britain's largest cities.

There is also going to be a "Question and Answer" meeting at the Central Hall, Westminster, probably on Wednesday, June 21. Abolitionists are being asked *not* to attend this meeting but to persuade the unconvinced to go. After that similar meetings will be held in major cities.

Meanwhile distinguished people's names are being canvassed for abolition and the Prime Minister will receive the expected 5,000 signatures.

On Tuesday the Albert Hall was filled to capacity—as was the overflow meeting at Kensington Town Hall, from which many

were turned away. A collection of £2,218 was taken at the Albert Hall, and further money was collected after the meeting.

Among speakers who contributed to the "irrefutable case" for abolition were John Freeman, Johnny Dankworth, Lady Violet Bonham Carter, Christopher Brasher, Gerald Gardiner, QC, Frank Byers, Sidney Silverman MP, the Bishop of Colchester, Arnold Wesker, Ludovic Kennedy and Victor Gollancz.

There were also various interruptions throughout the meeting, such as "Hang Kenyatta," "Hang Macleod" and "Hang Macmillan." It was made clear that this was all for the sake of the Empire.

The Campaign is distributing a mass of literature on hanging which may be had free or near free from 14 Henrietta Street, London, W.C.2. It believes it is making the "final push" for abolition before the 1957 Homicide Act comes up for review next year.

## PEACE NEWS

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### MEETINGS

MEETING ROOMS AVAILABLE at Peace News offices, seat 10-40, very reasonable charges, refreshment facilities, piano. Apply The Wardea, 5 Caledonian Rd., King's Cross, London, N.1.

BOMBS AND UNILATERALISM? Donald Swann, John Loverseed, Ronald Mallone, Stuart Morris, Sybil Morrison answer "Any Questions?" 7.30 p.m. April 22, Kingsway Hall.

### HOLIDAY ACCOMMODATION

CORNWALL. West Haven Vegetarian Guest House, for quiet comfort, good food, magnificent sea views. Bathing, surfing and walking. Miss Amy Halliwell. Widemouth Bay 276.

NORTH DEVON. Guests received. Bed and Breakfast. Garage, nr. sea. Haris, Coombe Walter, Abbotsham.

FRINTON-ON-SEA. Vegetarian Food Reform Guest House overlooking greensward and sea. Lilian and Aldo Vezza, Sandy Point, Esplanade. Tel.: 691, V.C.A.

GRASMERE, Westmorland. Come to Rothay Bank, a comfortable vegetarian Guest House in the heart of the lovely Lake District, for invigorating holidays or for rest and relaxation. 20 years reputation for good food in plenty. Proprietress: Isabel James. Brochure on request.

HASTINGS CENTRAL: Bed and Breakfast, Recuperation, Holidays. Page, (FoR), Cameron House, 16 Linton Crescent.

KESWICK: Visit the Lake District for your holiday this year. Highfield Vegetarian Guest House, The Heads, offers beautiful scenery, good food, comfort and friendly atmosphere. Tel. 508 or write—Mr. and Mrs. Norman Lusby.

## Fenner Brockway on the struggle for peace and liberty

# END OF NEW TASKS FOR COs

"DON'T let us go away thinking we have won a victory for peace; we have not," Fenner Brockway warned a gathering of conscientious objectors and pacifists in London on April 8.

"We are saved from conscription because we have more deadly weapons in the world than the world has ever known; because the individual is of little importance in the massive annihilation which is now possible.

"If tonight we rejoice that conscription has been ended, let us understand that the struggle in the personal human being for the right of the individual to grow is more important now."

He could not, he said, do other than look back at the CO movements of the first World War.

### NO PART IN WAR

"The circumstances then were very different: conscription and actual war unknown in this country; no great organised peace movement, yet thousands of men scattered up and down the country, often just individuals, were deciding that for one reason or another—but always from deep conviction—they could not take part in war.

"Because of these conditions, the CO movement was the movement of the COs themselves. One remembers Devonshire House, the old Society of Friends HQ, just as the first imprisonments were beginning. Indeed, as we met there, news came of the first imprisonments making the young men in the meeting even more determined than before.

"I am under a very deep sense, almost of reverence, that we have here to-night one

of the 39 men who were sent away right at the beginning of conscription and sentenced to death, and recall their courage in not giving way.

"Forgive me for mentioning it. I can remember that week-end (in 1916) so well. I hardly slept trying to exert all kinds of pressures, visiting newspaper editors, calling on the *Manchester Guardian* and getting that leading article written. . .

"As I walked some of the way last week-end with the Aldermaston marchers it made me think back to the No-Conscription Fellowship of World War I, the same spirit, the same teenagers, the same youth movement.

"What we have to do now is direct our opposition not only to nuclear weapons, but to war itself. And not only to the negative but to the positive things which will really enable the whole human family to attain to its highest fulfilment.

"I don't say good-bye to you. I don't regard this as a final meeting. I regard it as one stage in the struggle for liberty and peace.

"To the men who have been conscientious objectors I would say: Give your lives to this struggle to remove war from the face of the earth."

Entertainment was provided during the evening by Donald Swann, who, with a fellow conscientious objector, Sidney Carter, sang songs from his successful show "Drop of a Hat," as well as a more recent com-

position, "Coming down from Aldermaston."

Other speakers were Stephen Thorne, Denis Hayes, Clifford Macquire, Wallace Hancock and Stuart Morris, who presided.

Although conscription has ended there will still be serving soldiers developing a conscientious objection to further military service and requiring advice and help. To aid them a CBCO Continuing Committee has been set up.

The new committee was already dealing with the case of two bandsmen in Singapore who had refused further service, reported Wallace Hancock, CBCO treasurer. He also made this wisecrack in introducing Fenner Brockway to the meeting (and presenting him with a brief-case in appreciation of his services as Chairman): "MPs are the finest sort of men created. I've only met two: George Lansbury and Fenner Brockway."

## Tactical decision

THE Washington correspondent of *The Times* understands that President Kennedy and Dr. Adenauer have agreed that the West German army is to receive no more "tactical" nuclear weapons pending further discussions. This means that its nuclear capability will be frozen at about half the level originally planned.

The implications are that it has now been decided that a conventional attack would be met with conventional weapons only. The "tactical" nuclear weapons already in Germany will, however, remain.

## DIARY

Send notices to arrive first post Monday. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Saturday, April 22

GRANGE-0-SANDS: 3 p.m. Parish Hall, Kent's Bank Rd. Eileen Fletcher: "Pacifist Fortnight Campaign." Grange Peace Group.

LONDON, E.17: 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. Ross Wyld Hall, Church Hill. Exhibition: "No Place to Hide." Adm. free. Not suitable for children. Walthamstow CND.

LONDON, S.W.1: 3 p.m. Air St. (behind Swan & Edgar), Piccadilly. West End Poster Parade. CND.

LONDON, S.W.4: 3 p.m. Lecture Hall, Clapham Baths, Clapham, Manor St. (nr. Clapham North

Speakers: Wayland Young, Leonard Beaton, Michael Ionides, Dr. James Henderson. Inclusive cost Friday supper to Sunday tea: 50s. Details: N.P.C., 29 Gt. James St., W.C.1 (CHA, 3228, or U.N.A., 25 Charles St., W.1 (GRO 2784).

Saturday, April 29

LONDON, S.W.1: 3.15-6 p.m. Parliament Square. "Public Assembly." Assemble Trafalgar Square, 2 p.m. March to Parliament Square, 3 p.m. Committee of 100.

SMETHWICK, Staffs.: 3 p.m.-6 p.m. St. Stephens Church Hall, Cambridge Rd. FoR Group Re-union for 25th Anniversary.

Thursday, May 4

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd., Leytonstone. Eileen Fletcher: joint mtg. for PPU "Peace Fortnight."

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.45 p.m. Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq., W. Neneman: "Poland." Refreshments 7.15 p.m. SoF.

Friday, May 5

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-2 p.m. Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. Lunch-time talks:

Halfwell. Widemouth Bay 270.  
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LONDON, S.W.4: 3 p.m. Lecture Hall, Clapham Baths, Clapham, Manor St. (nr. Clapham North tube). Norman Hart: "Common Ownership and World Hunger." Adm. free. Christian Socialist Movement.

LONDON, W.C.2: 2 p.m. to 7 p.m. Kingsway Hall. Sixth Annual Conference of Fellowship Party. 5 to 5.45 p.m. Tea and Bring and Buy Sale.

LONDON, W.C.2: 7.30 p.m. Kingsway Hall. "Any Questions on Peace, Politics and Current Affairs?" Brains Trust: Donald Swann, John Loverseed, AFC, Ronald Malone, BA, Sybil Morrison, Stuart Morris, MA Question Master: Bob Walsh. Fellowship Party.

### Sunday, April 23

LONDON, N.1: 3.30 p.m. Peace News, 5 Caledonian Rd., Universal Religion-Pacifist Fellowship. Antony Bates: "A New Bible."

### Tuesday, April 25

LONDON, W.C.1: 6.30 p.m. 6 Endsleigh St. All PPU members welcome to AGM. London Area PPU.

### Thursday, April 27

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. House, Bush Rd., Leytonstone. "Group Discussion." E.1 and E.11 PPU.

LONDON, N.W.3: 8 p.m. 47 Netherhall Gardens (Flat 7). "On losing Temper"; Dr. Walter Bier. PPU.

LONDON, S.W.1: 7.30 p.m. Alliance Hall, Palmer St. (nr. Caxton Hall). Public Mtg. "The Occupation of Parliament Sq.-29th April." Speakers: Rev. Michael Scott, George Clark, Ralph Schoenman, Ernest Rodker, Dr. Paul Mathews. Adm. free. Committee of 100.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.45 p.m. Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. Series on Eastern Europe: M. Stojakovic, "Yugoslavia." SoF.

### Friday, April 28

SMETHWICK, Staffs: 7.45 p.m. Highfield School, Arden Rd., Public Brains Trust, "The Moral Approach to International Problems." FoR.

### Friday, April 28—Sunday, April 30

RUGELEY, Staffs: Spode House, Nr. Rugeley. "Defence, Security and Disarmament" conference.

## Every week!

### SATURDAYS

LONDON, W.11: Golborne Rd., off Portobello Market, north end. Peace Bookstall in Market. 10 a.m.-5 p.m. Helpers for two-hour shifts are needed. Apply to the Secretary, BAY 2086, or Organiser, FLA 7906. Porchester PPU.

### SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: 72 Oakley Sq., N.W.1. Week-end work camps take place whenever possible. Phone EUS 3195. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS.

### THURSDAYS

LONDON, E.11: 9 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. (near Green Man), E.10 and E.11 Group PPU.

Speakers: S.Wayland Young, Leonard Beaton, Michael Ionides, Dr. James Henderson. Inclusive cost Friday supper to Sunday tea: 50s. Details: N.P.C., 29 Gt. James St., W.C.1 (CHA 3228, or U.N.A., 25 Charles St., W.1 (GRO 2784).

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### Saturday, May 6

LONDON, N.W.1: 2.30 to 9.30 p.m. St. Pancras Town Hall. London Region CND Spring Fair. Adm. by ticket 1s.

LONDON, S.W.4: 3 p.m. Lecture Hall, Clapham Baths, Clapham, Manor St. (nr. Clapham North tube). John Bowyer: "World Government." Adm. free. Christian Socialist Movement.

## CHRIST'S RETURN

The nations of the world have had a long lease of power. And now, as the "Times of the Gentiles" spoken of by Jesus, come to a close, they must render up their accounts. The Lord's judgment, expressed beforehand in the Bible, is that not one of them will be found worthy of a renewal of that lease. Speaking of the dire, and humanly irremediable trouble in which dominion shall be taken from them, Jesus said: there would be "upon the earth distress of nations, with perplexity; the sea and the waves roaring (a figure of society in a frightening state of upheaval); men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth: for the powers of heaven shall be shaken (for 'I will shake the heavens and the earth; and I will overthrow the throne of kingdoms, and I will destroy the strength of the kingdoms of the nations; and I will overthrow the chariots and those that ride in them; and the horses and their riders shall come down, every one by the sword of his brother'—Haggai 2:21 R.V.). And then they shall see the Son of man coming in a cloud with power and GREAT GLORY" (Luke 21:25). As civilisation collapses in an orgy of mutual extermination, Christ will return in person to give humanity what it so desperately needs: a Supra-National, Righteous, World-Government. Speaking with one authoritative voice, he will swiftly and irresistibly enforce his will for peace and justice to the blessing of all who willingly bow the knee to him. "In his days shall the righteous flourish; and abundance of peace as long as the moon endureth. He shall have dominion also from sea to sea, and from the River unto the ends of the earth . . . and his enemies shall lick the dust . . . Yea, all kings shall fall down before him: all nations shall serve him . . . His name shall endure for ever: his name shall be continued as long as the sun; and all men shall be blessed in him: all nations shall call him blessed" (Psa. 72, Zech. 9:9-10).

I should be pleased to send to my fellow-pacifists, three free pamphlets published by the Pastoral Bible Institute enlarging on the above theme and entitled "ARE WARS TO CEASE?" "THE COMING WORLD POTENTATE" and "THE PLACE OF ISRAEL IN THE PLAN OF GOD." Write to: Arthur Carrington, 27 Bantam Grove Lane, Morley, Nr. Leeds.

## Be seen and heard

By HILDA von KLENZE

THOSE eyes—they have been watching for months, out of the corners, rather accusingly. Now, as I look up from my seat on the Underground, they seem satisfied. "This space could be selling for you," they say. "Three hundred of them are." I stare back, and dotted around the carriages of the Northern Line there glows, sealing-wax red with black and white lettering, "Thousands of Years of War—One Fortnight for Peace." The curtain is still down on the Pacifist Fortnight Campaign, but the overture has begun.

The aim of the Campaign is to make known the existence of a Pacifist Movement. Perhaps that sounds limited, a little meagre compared with the vast objective of building a pacifist world. But it is the first and achievable aim of all propaganda to make known that a new idea is on the market and to persuade the public that this is what they have been waiting for.

If we were trying to sell a new detergent we would have a great deal of money to spend. There would be no difficulty with advertising agencies. Detergents are strictly non-controversial. After the campaign we could sit back, tot up the packets sold, count the letters from satisfied housewives, and then congratulate our paid agents all over the country, or sack them, as the case may be. Success or failure would be obvious, reducible to a figure in a balance sheet.

★

No such luck for pacifists. Their financial means are restricted: their propaganda is very definitely "contravercial," as one transport company in the Midlands put it in a letter rejecting the poster "Thousands of Years . . ."; their agents are unpaid and have only their spare time to put at the disposal of pacifism; their success cannot be summed up in round satisfying figures. In commercial terms, they have every reason to hold back, to be doubtful, to grudge the grinding effort.

Fortunately the Pacifist Fortnight Campaign is not a commercial undertaking. It is a labour of love, and love knows no failure. Perhaps it does not even know success in the ordinary sense of the word. It is venturing into the future, step by step, while achievement may be just round the corner. There is no joy, no sense of conquest, anticipation to compare with it.

## Alternative service begins

# GERMAN COs RECOGNISED

GERMANY'S first officially-recognised conscientious objectors began their alternative service on April 10. They are to complete a year's compulsory hospital service. They will earn two marks (about 3s. 6d.) a day, with free food, lodging and working clothes.

The correspondent of *The Times* in Bonn writes: "Conscientious objection and its recognition by the state are new to Germany. The Weimar Republic never faced such a problem: there was no national service. In the days both before and after Weimar, German society, if it differed in much else, was alike in officially according very short shrift to any form of pacifism."

"The 1956 Federal Military Service Law

## Food for China campaign

SEND a grain bag to President Kennedy, the US Fellowship of Reconciliation urges all Americans, to remind him that China faces the worst famine of the century.

Quoting the words of Christ: "If thine enemy hunger, feed him," the FoR launched a campaign to follow up a half-page advertisement in the *New York Times* two months ago which urged that the US should undertake an errand of mercy.

Readers were asked to try to persuade the Government "to surmount the political obstacles that stand between the American and Chinese people. We have the food, stored in warehouses—seven billion dollars worth of it."

Another suggestion has come from Sydney Bailey, formerly of the Quaker lobby at UNO, that the US make a gift of surplus grain to the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation, and that FAO make a loan of grain to the Chinese, on the understanding that the grain would be repaid at a later date.

## QUAKERS WANT VIGIL AND INCREASED TAX

QUAKER peace workers from all over Britain, 180 of them, who gathered at Swanwick recently for their annual conference, heard proposals for a nation-wide Quaker demonstration in support of uni-

for the first time allowed for conscientious objection and outlined the administrative procedure by which citizens might achieve recognition when needed.

"The lot of the genuine conscientious objector in West Germany is not an easy one. Though the law is generally recognised as fair, the tribunals work very slowly. Some applications, for instance, relating to persons liable for call-up in the latter half of 1957 are still outstanding, and only now can even a man who was quickly recognised begin his alternative service."

It is estimated that by midsummer, 800 further conscientious objectors will have been added to those who have already begun their alternative service. So far, some 2,500 young men have had their applications confirmed by the tribunals; and there are generally estimated to be about 8,000 conscientious objectors in the Federal Republic.

## TRADE BAR FOR SOUTH AFRICA

THE South Africa United Front, of four African movements in exile, has received a letter from the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade, announcing the severing of all economic and trade relations with the Union of South Africa, in support of the South African people's struggle.

The letter is in reply to a message dated January 25 sent by the South Africa United Front to the China Council appealing to the Chinese People's Republic to give full support to the South African People's struggle against racial discrimination by the colonial authorities of the Union of South Africa and for fundamental human rights. The message also urged an over-all economic and trade boycott of South Africa.

## NATIONAL PEACE COUNCIL AND UNA CONFERENCE

"DEFENCE Security and Disarmament," a week-end conference organised by

## Slippery gold



THE US Government is greatly alarmed, newspapers tell us, at the rate at which gold is leaving the country.

There is something strange about this. As we know, the US gold is buried in a vault at Fort Knox and heavily guarded by the military.

Yet there is no suggestion of burglary. No Communists have been rounded up. It cannot be leaving by permission of the Government, for they have expressed their alarm at its departure.

I refuse to believe that it's an inside job, for that would impugn the integrity of American military personnel and cast doubts upon the security of the free world.

Can it be that occult forces are at work, whereby the gold is being spirited away by some unseen agency? One never knows what these Russian scientists are up to.

I don't know what steps the US Government are taking to deal with the matter, but at least we may presume that the guards, who have hitherto been standing day and night with their weapons at the ready, facing outwards, have now been ordered to turn round and point their weapons at the gold itself.

Something must be done. For gold is frightfully important stuff. It has magical powers. Such are the mysterious laws which govern the economy of a free (i.e. capitalist) country that the nation's prosperity depends on how many lumps of yellow metal it's got in the cellar.

If we lost our gold we'd have to sacrifice all our hard-won liberties and go socialist.

I mention this matter of the wandering gold because I want it to be known that none of it has come this way. No such luck. I would add that the Peace News staff is also alarmed at the rate at which what little money they have is leaving the office.

But we differ from the US Government in that we know exactly how and where it's going.

B. J. BOOTHROYD.

Contributions since April 7 : £44 19s. 4d.  
Total since Feb. 1, 1961 £316 6s. 4d.  
Anon 10s.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Lady Clare Annesley, Treasurer, Peace News, 5 Caledonian Rd., London, N.1.

## Inter-Faith Conference

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Nor can pacifism be sold. It can only be offered freely and on a grand scale. The number of hands that stretch out to receive it depends on the preparatory work done by the Pacifist Movement between now and June 18, when simultaneously all over the British Isles pacifists will go into action, knowing that their fellow pacifists are making the same effort, facing the same anxieties, experiencing the same toil and the same thrill when they meet with comprehension and encouragement.

During that fortnight in June pacifists must be seen and heard. There are posters to draw the attention, leaflets to argue the case. They must be scattered abroad, and each one of these arrows of light loosed from the bow may be the one to reach its target. On July 1 the message of peace will be proclaimed from the plinth in Trafalgar Square. No pacifist can afford to miss it, for the time to work for pacifism is now.

See Coupon page 2.

Sybil Morrison has been at the Women's International League conference in Manchester. She will resume her column next week.

#### UNIVERSAL RELIGION PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP

Service 3.30 p.m., Sunday, April 9

Peace News, 5 Caledonian Rd., Kings Cross

Discourse: Dr. S. N. Ghose

"Hinduism & Christianity"

"I renounce war and I will never  
support or sanction another"

This pledge, signed by each member, is  
the basis of the Peace Pledge Union.  
Send your pledge to PPU Headquarters

DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE

6 Endsleigh Street

London, W.C.1

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## QUAKERS WANT VIGIL AND INCREASED TAX

QUAKER peace workers from all over Britain, 180 of them, who gathered at Swanwick recently for their annual conference, heard proposals for a nation-wide Quaker demonstration in support of unilateral disarmament and war on war.

As a result of their discussions a call may go out this year for every Quaker to gather for a day-long vigil in support of disarmament.

During discussion on the vigil, Geoffrey Carnall, of Edinburgh University, urged that the programme be linked with a call for a 1s. increase on income tax, the proceeds of which would be used to help wipe out poverty in the under-developed countries.

## NEW PPU MONTHLY The Pacifist

VOL. 1 No. 1 of *The Pacifist*, the monthly journal of the Peace Pledge Union, is out this month. It is the successor to the old PPU Journal, discontinued with its December issue 1952, and it replaces the cyclo-styled news letter which has been circulating since. The annual subscription for which is 10s.

This first issue contains news of the Annual General Meeting to be held late this month in Birmingham, the Pacifist Fortnight Campaign, the forthcoming Summer Holiday Conference, a column by Sybil Morrison, local group news, news of the campaign to abolish the death penalty, and Paul Oestreicher's broadcast talk on non-violence, together with many other features.

## STEPHEN HOBHOUSE

A MEMORIAL meeting for Stephen Hobhouse will be held, after the manner of Quakers, at 1.30 p.m. on April 26 in the Small Meeting House, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

support of the South African people's struggle.

The letter is in reply to a message dated January 25 sent by the South Africa United Front to the China Council appealing to the Chinese People's Republic to give full support to the South African People's struggle against racial discrimination by the colonial authorities of the Union of South Africa and for fundamental human rights. The message also urged an over-all economic and trade boycott of South Africa.

## NATIONAL PEACE COUNCIL AND UNA CONFERENCE

"DEFENCE Security and Disarmament," a week-end conference organised by the National Peace Council and United Nations Association, will take place at Spode House, near Rugeley, Staffordshire, April 28 to 30.

Speakers will include Wayland Young, Leonard Beaton, Michael Ionides, and Dr. James Henderson. The Chairman is Geof. Frey, Sheen.

Enquiries concerning the conference, which is intended mainly for young people, 29 Great James Street, London, W.C.1. can be directed to National Peace Council, (Tel: CHAncery 3228.)

## Briefly

Oxford Committee for Famine Relief is organising another summer conference at St. Peter's Hall, Oxford, July 24 to 29. As last year, the theme of the conference will be connected with the UN Freedom from Hunger Campaign, but there will be special emphasis on Africa.

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## Inter-Faith Conference at Oxford

AT All Souls College, Oxford, representatives of the Christian, Jewish, Muslim, Hindu and Buddhist Faiths met April 7 to 9 to discuss a common conception of a religious attitude towards war and disarmament.

The conference endorsed the urgent need for a new public consciousness of the responsibility of prosperous nations towards those less favoured, and urged positive rather than negative approaches for peace. One of the themes examined was that of the relation between mystical experience and the responsible exercise of political power.

Among the speakers at this gathering, organised by the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, was Canon Charles Raven, the United Kingdom FoR president, and Mr. Aksel Knudsen, a member of the Fellowship in Denmark.

## WIGMORE HALL, Wigmore Street, W.1

SATURDAY, April 29, at 3 p.m.

Pianoforte Recital by

## FRANK MERRICK

In Celebration of the 58th Anniversary of his  
first recital in Wigmore Hall on 25th March 1903

Programme:

Phantasie in C minor, K.475

Sonata in E minor, Op. 90

Sonata in A minor, Op. 42

Sonata No. 3 in A minor, Op. 28

(and works by Bach, Chopin, Brahms, Ireland, Bax)

MOZART

BEETHOVEN

SCHUBERT

PROKOFIEV

Tickets: 10/-, 7/-, 4/-, from Hall (WEL 2141), Agents and  
IBBS & TILLET Ltd., 124 Wigmore Street, W.1 (WEL 8418)

# Kennedy's Peace Corps

**P**RESIDENT KENNEDY'S Peace Corps has been mentioned at least once a day in leading American newspapers ever since it was established by executive order on March 1. Four separate articles about it appeared on page one of the *New York Times* one day early in March.

So inevitably in the course of daily conversation we pacifists face the question: "Are you in favour of the Peace Corps?" A yes-or-no answer is expected, of course, yet both monosyllables are unacceptable.

"Yes" implies approval of the fact that the Peace Corps, operated unilaterally by the US Government, is subject to becoming a mere propaganda weapon in the cold war.

"No" implies disapproval of the basic Peace Corps concept which pacifists urge upon nations as a positive alternative to militarisation.

My own answer, which I feel is representative of many pacifists, is that while I approve of the Peace Corps idea, I think it could be effectively translated into reality only by an agency of the United Nations. By donating the required funds to the proper UN agency—and in addition, possibly calling upon the Soviet

Union to match the donation—the US would have won its propaganda point and at the same time gained the confidence of the countries to be aided.

As it is, such countries would be naive to accept the Peace Corps at face value. Since World War II—both under Truman and Eisenhower—US economic aid to under-developed countries has been tied-in brazenly with reciprocal or potential military support.

## Supremacy

The US policy of supremacy by military force has not changed with the advent of the Peace Corps. If the Peace Corps were part of an entire new peace policy involving unconditional cessation of nuclear tests or an initial step, at least, toward disarmament, it might inspire more confidence among under-developed nations. But since it does not involve even the slightest change in basic policy, how can a US-operated Peace Corps inspire any more confidence than would a Soviet-operated Peace Corps?

Also, the US Government agencies co-sponsoring the Peace Corps are the

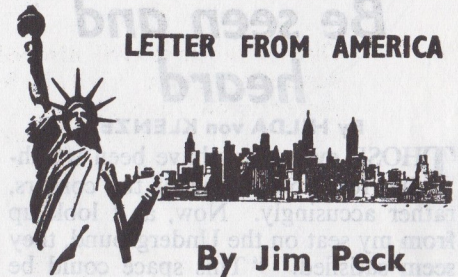
State Department, whose bunglingly reactionary policies have been exposed in *THE UGLY AMERICAN* and other less widely read volumes and the International Co-operation Administration, a number of whose foreign aid programmes have failed because of uninspired, civil service-type administration.

Personnel for the Peace Corps will have to obtain "security clearance." While the details of this procedure have not yet been spelled out, it might well result in barring or alienating many pacifists and other political idealists whose devotion to the Peace Corps concept would make them far more valuable than young people whose motivation for joining is travel, adventure, or just plain experience.

When the Peace Corps idea was first proposed by President Kennedy enlistment was viewed as a possible alternative to the draft, but this proviso was dropped before the plan became a reality.

The Peace Corps has sought the support of pacifist service organisations such as the American Friends Service Committee and Brethren Service Commission in administering its pro-

## LETTER FROM AMERICA



By Jim Peck

gramme, but thus far these organisations have not committed themselves. Aware of the possible pitfalls, they have followed a wait-and-see policy.

However, Clarence Pickett, secretary emeritus of the AFSC, has accepted a post as one of the advisers to the Peace Corps. He explained to me in connection with this column that in becoming an adviser he hopes to exert at least some constructive influence on Peace Corps policy. Many pacifists, including myself, would disagree with Pickett's position.

It must be recognised, however, that regardless of what the Peace Corps becomes in practice as administered unilaterally by the US, the underlying concept is a justifiably popular one. Public reaction in the US has been generally favourable.

Helping to develop this climate of opinion is the sympathetic treatment the Peace Corps has thus far received from the press, radio and TV. Even the inevitable outcries from Right-wing Republicans have been less widespread than might have been expected.

## Propaganda

Initiation of the Peace Corps constituted a propaganda victory of the type which in the post-war years has been won most regularly by the Soviet Union. For once the US rather than Russia took the initiative in making a positive proposal of a peacemaking nature.

For once the US was not in the heel-dragging position of again rejecting

## Freedom - by Dr. Verwoerd

**S**OUTH AFRICAN newspapers must exercise "self-control," or the Government will have to take action. This was stated by Dr. Verwoerd last week.

He said that the press was going beyond what was meant by freedom of the press and was closely approaching licence. "I am not sure," he continued "that our present position regarding the Commonwealth and the United Nations is not the result of having allowed this licence."

Major Van Der Byl, for the Opposition, asked who was to be the judge. Dr. Verwoerd answered: "The judge must be the courts, but there may be circumstances

treatment. They demanded the removal of some Australian overseers, or repatriation with compensation. Workers at Nauru, the other rich phosphate island, 150 miles west of Ocean Island, immediately struck in sympathy. Nauru is a UN trust territory administered by Australia.

Ocean Island produces about 300,000 tons of phosphate annually for the British Phosphate Commission. Most of the cost of administering the Gilbert and Ellis Islands is met by the British Phosphate Commission.

## THIS IS YOUR WORLD

Mr. Kgosana also visited the conference, held last Sunday, of the Movement for Colonial Freedom, at which a resolution was passed demanding the immediate release of Jomo Kenyatta and the lifting of all restrictions on his activities.

## Fall-out falling

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Major Van Der Byl, for the Opposition, asked who was to be the judge. Dr. Verwoerd answered: "The judge must be the courts, but there may be circumstances in which the judge may have to be found elsewhere so that quicker action can be taken."

After he had said that he felt it to be his duty to point out that the Prime Minister was a paranoiac, and therefore a danger to South Africa, Major Van Der Byl was asked to withdraw the statement and apologise. "I cannot withdraw it," he said. "It is true." He was then ordered to leave the House of Assembly.

## French A-bomb test

**A**T any moment now France may stage her fourth atomic test explosion. According to *Paris-Presse*, it will be underground, in the Hoggar region of the Sahara, north of Tamanrasset.

The paper states that underground experiments were to have begun in the autumn, but the Government may have speeded them up in order to meet the criticisms about fall-out.

The former testing ground at Reggane in the West Central Sahara is apparently no longer to be used.

## Police action

**R**EMOTE Ocean Island, of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate, is the scene of a strike of phosphate workers which, according to reports from Guadalcanal, threatens violence.

Police detachments have sailed from Honiara, 800 miles away, and were to take five days to get there. Other police reinforcements are being sent from Tarawa, capital of the Gilbert and Ellis Islands. Gilbert Islanders make up most of the labour force of 800 on Ocean Island.

The men struck on April 8, claiming ill-

treatment. They demanded the removal of some Australian overseers, or repatriation with compensation. Workers at Nauru, the other rich phosphate island, 150 miles west of Ocean Island, immediately struck in sympathy. Nauru is a UN trust territory administered by Australia.

Ocean Island produces about 300,000 tons of phosphate annually for the British Phosphate Commission. Most of the cost of administering the Gilbert and Ellis Islands is met by revenue from the phosphate quarries.

## High-minded protest

**B**BRITISH car salesmen, banned at less than 12 hours' notice from all US bases in Britain, paraded on April 10 outside the H-bomb base at Sculthorpe in Norfolk. They carried banners protesting against what they consider unfair competition.

They are convinced that the ban was inspired by American car manufacturers. Two Norfolk MPs were to ask questions in the House.

*Daily Telegraph* columnist Peter Simple comments: "US Air Force men who could face demonstrations led by Mr. Michael Foot, Bertrand Russell, Mr. Silverman, and even Canon Collins without a qualm, must have quailed before the righteous indignation, spiritual disdain and fanatical determination of these high-minded salesmen."

## An exile speaks

**P**HILIP KGOSANA, the African student who led last year's peaceful march of 30,000 Africans on Cape Town, and afterwards fled to exile, stated in London last Sunday that the programme of the Pan-Africanist Congress will be at all times non-violent.

He deprecated any idea that he was regarded as an African messiah. The march on Cape Town, he said, "was a planned campaign, with collective leadership. I am no one-man show." By 1963 he hoped to see "the mammoth god of White domination" in South Africa overthrown.

The Pan-Africanist Congress, it was stated, had no definite views on Communism, and did not wish to be involved in the East-West dispute.

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## Fall-out falling

**T**HE strontium content of milk produced in Britain in May and June, 1960, was only 48 per cent of the content of that produced a year earlier.

This is the finding of analyses carried out until June, 1960, by the Agricultural Research Council. The results were published last week.

The report points out that May and June, 1960, were the first months during which cattle would have been fed on grass grown in rainfall whose strontium content would have been markedly reduced by the cessation of nuclear tests.

This applies to the country as a whole. But in some areas the picture is not so comforting. In such regions as the uplands of Wales and Scotland, where high rainfall, acid soil, and slowly growing herbage contribute to high concentrations of strontium in grass and milk, the reduction is not apparent in the annual averages.

IV. Even the inevitable outbreaks from Right-wing Republicans have been less widespread than might have been expected.

## Propaganda

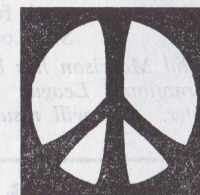
Initiation of the Peace Corps constituted a propaganda victory of the type which in the post-war years has been won most regularly by the Soviet Union. For once the US rather than Russia took the initiative in making a positive proposal of a peacemaking nature.

For once the US was not in the heel-dragging position of again rejecting a constructive Soviet-sponsored proposal—such as unconditional cessation of nuclear tests—with the single argument: You can't trust the Russians.

Credit for promoting the Peace Corps idea—though not for originating it—must go to President Kennedy. The current programme originated with Congressman Henry Reuss over a year ago. Kennedy picked it up in the final days of his election campaign and found it so popular that he decided to push it. The Peace Corps definitely gives the Kennedy administration a "new look" even though its basic policy on war and peace has not changed.

COMMITTEE OF 100

29 APRIL 1961



PARLIAMENT SQUARE  
ASSEMBLY

2 p.m. Trafalgar Sq.

3-6 p.m. Assembly and sit down Parliament Sq.

Contact the Committee at: 13 Goodwin St., N.4.

(Tel. ARChway 1239)

One of the first civil disobedience demonstrations against Civil Defence drills in America on June 15, 1955. The demonstration ended with the arrest of all 28 participants. Last year over 500 refused to take cover during the exercise.

# VOTING NO ON WAR

By David McReynolds

*Field Secretary of the US War Resisters' League, who is currently engaged full time preparing for the civil disobedience demonstration planned to take place next Friday (April 28) when Civil Defence drills are to be held again in America.*



ON Friday afternoon, April 28, the sweet calm of early Spring will be shattered by the whine of sirens in the major cities of the United States. The annual Civil Defence "test alert" will be on.

In New York City—where, under law, citizens are required to take shelter during the test—the cars will pull to the curb; subways will grind to a stop; afternoon shoppers will scurry for the shelter of the basements. Office workers will leave their desks and take elevators down to the ground floor. The streets will be empty and silent except for the absurd little figures of Civil Defence officials, protected from imaginary fall-out by their armbands.

## Opposition

But not all Americans will be seeking shelter. For some, not only in New York but throughout the nation, the sirens will signal a moment of decision, of open and public protest against the bitter insanity of

have sent out action memos, to their members.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation has issued an excellent pamphlet giving the facts (American readers should send 15 cents to: Fellowship of Reconciliation, Nyack, N.Y., and ask for *Neither Run Nor Hide*.) The National Action Committee of the Socialist Party has called on its local groups to "initiate or support local protests" against Civil Defence on the 28th. The War Resisters' League has loaned staff and office space to the Civil Defence Protest Committee.

Why so vigorous an effort? After all, as the saying goes, maybe Civil Defence can't help us but it can't hurt us. But of course it can hurt us—in two ways. It hurts us by giving a false sense of security, increasing the easy apathy of the public regarding the reality of nuclear war.

But it hurts also in a more sinister and disturbing way. Those who have studied the present Civil Defence programme know that it is almost totally without value in

it is possible, if we are willing to spend several hundred *billions* of dollars, to decentralise our industry and to bury the industry and the population hundreds of feet underground. Having done this, it is likely that anywhere from 25 to 50 per

**American readers who are concerned with the problem of Civil Defence and the continuing resistance to this programme are urged to write for complete information to: Civil Defence Protest Committee, Room 825, 5 Beekman St., NYC 38.**

cent of the population would survive the kind of nuclear attack which could today be launched. The knowledge that instead of being totally destroyed, that one might lose "only" 50 to 75 per cent of the population would encourage the major Powers to play the game of war a little longer.

shelters is announcing to the world that it has given up hope of settling things peacefully and is considering making a surprise attack of its own. And so it may turn out that the very programme we are told will protect us may provoke the attack it is designed to defend against.

In a fundamental way the Civil Defence programme is tied to the arms race, backing up and supporting the missiles on both sides, and committing the East and West ever more deeply to the insane logic of war.

Therefore, in an equally fundamental way, those who refuse to take shelter and who instead protest against the CD programme are casting their votes against war. They are saying that in the kind of world where an "effective defence" means the United States would lose as many 135,000,000 people there is really no defence at all.

Every person in either Russia or the United States who co-operates with Civil Defence has given his Government a vote

be on. In New York City—where, under law, citizens are required to take shelter during the test—the cars will pull to the curb; subways will grind to a stop; afternoon shoppers will scurry for the shelter of the basements. Office workers will leave their desks and take elevators down to the ground floor. The streets will be empty and silent except for the absurd little figures of Civil Defence officials, protected from imaginary fall-out by their armbands.

## Opposition

But not all Americans will be seeking shelter. For some, not only in New York but throughout the nation, the sirens will signal a moment of decision, of open and public protest against the bitter insanity of "Civil Defence." In towns and cities across the country plans are being made for individuals, or small groups, or—in a few cases—masses of people, to demonstrate and distribute leaflets protesting against the whole CD programme.

In New York itself, scene of last year's dramatic mass protest in which 1,000 people gathered in the Park near City Hall to make clear their opposition to the drills, plans are moving ahead for High School and College students to protest in different parts of the city and for the citizens of New York to gather once more in the Park.

The protest has gained new support since last year—Norman Thomas, Lewis Mumford and David Riesman are among the new sponsors. The Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

cents to: Fellowship of Reconciliation, Nyack, N.Y., and ask for *Neither Run Nor Hide*.) The National Action Committee of the Socialist Party has called on its local groups to "initiate or support local protests" against Civil Defence on the 28th. The War Resisters' League has loaned staff and office space to the Civil Defence Protest Committee.

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But it hurts also in a more sinister and disturbing way. Those who have studied the present Civil Defence programme know that it is almost totally without value in defending any of us. But once people have accepted the idea—the concept—of a Civil Defence programme they can then be sold the idea of a *better* programme. And a better programme is possible.

In a nation the size of the United States

## 'The meaning of unilateralism'

CHRISTOPHER FARLEY is unjust to Canon Collins and the other leaders of CND in his column last week. What may be Earl Russell's opinion on America keeping the Bomb I don't know, but in any case he no longer holds any official position in the Campaign.

What Canon Collins meant by his letter to *The Times* was that CND would not consider it an ideal arrangement (as no doubt the Communist Party would) for USA to abandon the Bomb and Russia to keep it. (Of course, the same applies the other way round.)

But, as I thought the letter made plain, and as I have confirmed in conversation with him, he (like all believers in the moral case for nuclear disarmament) would recommend USA (and Russia and any other country) to renounce the Bomb, and would greatly welcome the news that they had done so, only he regards it, quite logically, as the primary task of the British campaign to concentrate on influencing the British Government.

There are marchers for nuclear disarmament in USA, in Germany, and in other European countries, and we give them our wholehearted support; we wish there were some in Russia too.—**D. MARTIN DAKIN, 61, Suttons Lane, Hornchurch, Essex.**

Christopher Farley writes: *If CND "would not consider it an ideal arrangement" for the United States to abandon*

**American readers who are concerned with the problem of Civil Defence and the continuing resistance to this programme are urged to write for complete information to: Civil Defence Protest Committee, Room 825, 5 Beekman St., NYC 38.**

cent of the population would survive the kind of nuclear attack which could today be launched. The knowledge that instead of being totally destroyed, that one might lose "only" 50 to 75 per cent of the population would encourage the major Powers to play the game of war a little longer.

There is even a danger that if the USA (or Russia) embarked on a real programme of "heavy shelters," this would provoke the other Power into launching a nuclear surprise attack—because that nation which first begins a real programme of heavy

protect us may provoke the attack it is designed to defend against.

In a fundamental way the Civil Defence programme is tied to the arms race, backing up and supporting the missiles on both sides, and committing the East and West ever more deeply to the insane logic of war.

Therefore, in an equally fundamental way, those who refuse to take shelter and who instead protest against the CD programme are casting their votes against war. They are saying that in the kind of world where an "effective defence" means the United States would lose as many 135,000,000 people there is really no defence at all.

Every person in either Russia or the United States who co-operates with Civil Defence has given his Government a vote of confidence to continue the arms race. Every person in either Russia or the United States who refuses to take part in Civil Defence has cast his vote against death and for the only real protection the world can have in a nuclear age—peace.

# Letters to the Editor

*the Bomb, whereas all believers in the moral case for nuclear disarmament would "recommend" the USA to renounce the Bomb, this surely confirms my view that there is need for clarification of this issue.*

CHRISTOPHER FARLEY was right to challenge some of Earl's Russell's recent statements concerning American nuclear weapons.

In his letter to *The Observer* (April 9) Russell states clearly: "I do not advocate American unilateral disarmament; I advocate it for Britain. . ." Perhaps PN will find out just what this means for I cannot make any sense of it.

Unilateralism is a call to the nuclear Powers to do something about disarmament in addition to going to disarmament talks and blaming the other side for lack of agreement. As Russia, Britain and America have suspended nuclear weapons tests unilaterally, why cannot they all take further unilateral action?

If Earl Russell doesn't want the Americans to stop relying on nuclear weapons until there is a world agreement why is he sitting in Whitehall against Polaris basis?

Surely if America isn't going to abandon nuclear weapons, there are going to be bases in Britain and elsewhere.

I understand the main demand of the CND to be a call to all nuclear Powers to stop relying on the weapons of the Devil. This applies to the USSR, Britain, France and America.

Finally, there is an additional reason why unilateral action by America should be called for. She started the nuclear arms race by obliterating Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

What advice does Earl Russell give to unilateralists in the USA? Perhaps *Peace News* can pursue this matter, for many of us have a great respect for his viewpoint and do not wish to misunderstand his latest position.—**RON HUZARD, 37, Hollingworth Road, Petts Wood, Kent.**

## CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

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# APRIL 29 IN PARLIAMENT SQUARE

## An Open Letter to the Committee of 100 . . . and a reply from the Committee's Secretary

DEAR Friends,—You must have been encouraged, as all of us were, by the splendid achievement of the 1961 Easter marches, in spite of very bad weather conditions. No doubt many of you took part in them. The increasing strength of these marches, and of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament generally, has had and still has a profound effect on public opinion, especially in the trade unions and Labour Party.

Though the protest is necessarily negative and does not tackle the problem of war as such, it is remarkable as the most powerful expression yet of public revulsion against the wickedness and folly of nuclear diplomacy.

In view of this legal and very effective form of anti-nuclear publicity which is already in being, one wonders why you should think it necessary to organise civil disobedience and what you hope to achieve by it.

### MORAL BASIS

Of course, there are times when non-violent civil disobedience may be necessary and right, but to me its proper place is in the defence of "the people" against those who would oppress them or impose unjust laws or unconstitutional rule upon them. It should always rest upon a moral basis. I know this is difficult to define, but I cannot help feeling that the forms of action you propose to organise do not have that moral basis.

If the state calls upon me to do something which I believe to be fundamentally wrong, then I must in conscience refuse to carry it out, whatever may be the constitutional authority of the government or the will of the majority. In that case I am not trying to impose my will on anyone else but assuming a proper moral responsibility for my own actions. This applies especially to conscientious objection to war service.

### MINORITY VIEWPOINT

If the state oppresses "the people" or

If a foreign government invades the country or a usurping party takes over the government in order to impose a rule which is fundamentally against the "will of the people," then again civil disobedience or non-violent resistance seems to me legitimate and right, because the moral basis is still there.

What you are doing, as far as I can see, is none of these things. Your demonstrations break the law in order to draw attention to a minority viewpoint, and to protest against a policy which I, like you, believe to be hideously wrong, but which still has the assent of the majority of the people and of a large majority of the constitutionally elected Parliament.

The moral basis of such action seems to me to be much more doubtful and its effect on public opinion correspondingly doubtful. Since we represent a minority, our protest—and our alternative policy, if we have one!—should surely be directed at public opinion, and all sorts of constitutional methods are available for doing so.

Francis Déak, who a century ago led the courageous and successful non-violent resistance of the Hungarian people against Austrian oppression, urged his followers to keep within the law: "This is the safe ground on which, unarmed ourselves, we can hold our own against armed force." You are evidently reversing this rule by organising demonstrations which are specifically designed to break the law for the sake of breaking it.

### ALDERMASTON MARCHERS

According to *Peace News* you plan next to hold a mass sit-down in Parliament Square. You could quite legally hold a demonstration in Trafalgar Square just up the road, as the Aldermaston marchers did so effectively this Easter, but

ALAN LITHERLAND asks what is the moral basis for a campaign of civil disobedience on the part of a political minority in a situation when constitutional means are available for influencing public opinion. One clue to the answer lies in his own admission that there are certain laws which affect him personally which he would feel justified in disobeying.

He is prepared to undertake a personal act of civil disobedience by refusing military conscription even though all the normal constitutional channels are open to him to persuade the majority to end conscription. Presumably he would also be prepared to encourage others to take the same action. Thus in one situation at least he is prepared to defy the democratically elected authority at the point at which it makes demands upon him that are incompatible with his beliefs.

### DEMOCRACY

There are two problems here. The first is to define the responsibilities of an individual in a "democratic" situation; the second is to define the measure of responsibility we have for the actions of others and how far we can stand aside when oppression is taking place simply because we are not directly affected or required to participate.

The democratic responsibilities of the individual depend on the conception of democracy. If democracy means co-operation with the majority decision in all circumstances then clearly there are circumstances in which we have a duty to be undemocratic.

Instead of getting involved in a discussion about the origin and meaning of the word democracy, I think it would be more useful to state the condition upon which one is prepared to accept, and think it right to accept, majority rule. I am only prepared to accept it in so far as it respects certain basic human rights, my own and other people's; my fellow countrymen's and

take such responsibility. I am. I would not be prepared to stand by while a British Government, democratic or not, put, say, West Indians into forced labour camps. And I am not prepared to stand by while preparations are systematically made that can end human life on this planet.

It is a frightening responsibility to interfere with other people's lives in this way, and it is not something to be undertaken lightly. But sometimes it must be done. One of the weaknesses of the pacifist movement has been its tendency to evade this responsibility.

But what do we hope to achieve by civil disobedience that cannot be done equally well by Aldermaston marches and other constitutional action? Let me put it this way. I spend a good deal of my time campaigning against the Bomb. Yet there are times when I find it difficult to believe that it exists at all and that at any moment our civilisation can be plunged into chaos. Life goes on as usual. There is no panic, little more than a flicker of awareness of what may be in store. Then I think that on August 6, 1945, the atmosphere in Hiroshima was probably little different.

### HOW TO ACT

How can this burning issue be brought to the consciousness of the people? How can they take effective action to reverse the drift to destruction?

For reasons which I cannot deal with very fully here I think that non-violent civil disobedience has an essential part to play in bringing the issue home to people. The demonstrations outside rocket bases in December, 1958, at least made people aware of something that had been going on silently in their midst.

And I am not only speaking of the sort of intellectual awareness that might equally

should always rest upon a moral basis. I know this is difficult to define, but I cannot help feeling that the forms of action you propose to organise do not have that moral basis.

If the state calls upon me to do something which I believe to be fundamentally wrong, then I must in conscience refuse to carry it out, whatever may be the constitutional authority of the government or the will of the majority. In that case I am not trying to impose my will on anyone else but assuming a proper moral responsibility for my own actions. This applies especially to conscientious objection to war service.

### MINORITY VIEWPOINT

If the state oppresses "the people" or imposes unjust laws against which they have no constitutional redress, then it seems to me legitimate and right to resist by breaking those laws—perhaps symbolically selecting certain laws for civil disobedience, as Gandhi did with the salt laws.

### THE WRITERS

ALAN LITHERLAND, PhD, is secretary of the Toldas Group, which is committed to unilateral disarmament. MICHAEL RANDLE has written frequently for Peace News on non-violence and social change.

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courageous and successful non-violent resistance of the Hungarian people against Austrian oppression, urged his followers to keep within the law: "This is the safe ground on which, unarmed ourselves, we can hold our own against armed force." You are evidently reversing this rule by organising demonstrations which are specifically designed to break the law for the sake of breaking it.

### ALDERMASTON MARCHERS

According to *Peace News* you plan next to hold a mass sit-down in Parliament Square. You could quite legally hold a demonstration in Trafalgar Square just up the road, as the Aldermaston marchers did so effectively this Easter, but you evidently intend to break the law, even though the laws you propose to break—those concerned with obstructing the public highway and access to Parliament—are not unjust and have nothing to do with the thing you are protesting against.

Is there not a danger that this kind of action may alienate public opinion, embarrass the movement, do more harm than good to the cause of nuclear disarmament, and even bring the principle of non-violence into disrepute?

### Alan Litherland

are not directly affected or required to participate.

The democratic responsibilities of the individual depend on the conception of democracy. If democracy means co-operation with the majority decision in all circumstances then clearly there are circumstances in which we have a duty to be undemocratic.

Instead of getting involved in a discussion about the origin and meaning of the word democracy, I think it would be more useful to state the condition upon which one is prepared to accept, and think it right to accept, majority rule. I am only prepared to accept it in so far as it respects certain basic human rights, my own and other people's; my fellow countrymen's and those who do not happen to live within the arbitrary boundaries of our nation state. Human rights are the first priority, majority rule the second; where there is a clash between the two we must, to quote Bertrand Russell, "remember our humanity and forget the rest."

It is one of the facile assumptions of nineteenth-century liberalism that such a clash could not occur. Alan Litherland betrays this when he states one situation where civil disobedience would be justified. "If the state oppresses the people," he says, "or imposes unjust laws against which they have no constitutional redress then it seems to me legitimate and right to resist by breaking these laws."

### GENOCIDE

But what happens if a racial or religious minority does have "constitutional redress" but face meantime intolerable discrimination or persecution? Do they work patiently through the constitutional channels or do they, like the Negroes in the United States Deep South, take direct action to assert their dignity and their rights?

In Britain today weapons are being made that spell death and torture to millions of people. It matters nothing that these people do not live in this country. They are human beings. No majority or minority anywhere has the right to sentence them to death. In this situation we have a right not only to refuse to co-operate in the preparation for genocide, but to actively obstruct these preparations.

This brings me on to the second point. How far ought we to "impose our will upon others" by restraining and obstructing them? Alan Litherland is not prepared to

shima was probably little different.

### HOW TO ACT

How can this burning issue be brought to the consciousness of the people? How can they take effective action to reverse the drift to destruction?

For reasons which I cannot deal with very fully here I think that non-violent civil disobedience has an essential part to play in bringing the issue home to people. The demonstrations outside rocket bases in December, 1958, at least made people aware of something that had been going on silently in their midst.

And I am not only speaking of the sort of intellectual awareness that might equally well be achieved by a newspaper article or a public speech, but which leaves people cold and still basically unaware of the implications of what is happening. I mean an emotional and moral awareness as well.

I hope that on April 29, as on February 18, we can achieve something of the same success. We shall not be breaking an unjust law, we shall not even be directly obstructing the nuclear arms programme. What we may do is to give people a jolt.

I am well aware of the risk this involves of antagonising people instead of gaining their support: this is why the spirit of the demonstration is so important. On a very few occasions one has really felt something moving and important was happening; the last silent mile of the Aldermaston march in 1958; the Swaffham demonstration when demonstrators paused outside the rocket base; the end of the February 18 sit-down when Russell and others walked past the rows of seated demonstrators.

I am also aware that the risk of antagonising people is greater when the public highway is being obstructed. Normally I am not in favour of obstructing people who are going about their ordinary business. I do believe, however, in trying to wake up someone who is happily sleepwalking to the edge of a precipice.

### Michael Randle

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## DISOBEDIENCE IN WORLD WAR II

*The beginnings of non-violent action are described in this week's continuation of "The Century of Total War." As the story unfolds the similarity of events occurring during the two major wars is quite remarkable. The contempt for pacifists—the brutality of the military authorities—the courage of those prepared to stand aside rather than submit to the tyranny of a majority who felt it right to wage war to settle differences.*

IN 1916 more than 6,000 took part in civil disobedience against conscription. When the Government introduced conscription again in 1939 the Prime Minister, Mr. Chamberlain (who had been a member of the conscientious objectors tribunal in World War I), told the House on May 4:

"It often happens that those who hold the most extreme opinions hold them with the greatest tenacity. We learned something about this in the Great War, and I think we found it was both a useless and exasperating waste of time and effort to attempt to force such people to act in a manner which was contrary to their principles. . ."

Public opinion in the large towns and cities, if not in the countryside, was ready to tolerate the conscientious objector in 1939, as it was not in 1916. The Government entered World War II knowing that 130,000 men and women of all ages, by signing the pledge of the Peace Pledge Union, had served notice on it that they would not support a war.

### Heroes of 1916

In the early months of the war more people came forward to join the Peace Pledge Union than left as a result of a change of views when war broke out. By June, 1940, 51,419 men, from a very limited age group, had registered as conscientious objectors.

The influence of the heroes of 1916 was strong. Young men in the 1940s were reading avidly the stories of their courage, while tribunals were being confronted with men who, having served at the front in World War I, were now standing firmly with the rebels of that period.

An ex-army captain, John Barclay, who had served for 3½ years in the earlier war

and a welfare and advisory organisation for their members.

In 1939 an older generation set up a Central Board for Conscientious Objectors to provide advice and to relieve cases of hardship. It was efficient, sensitive and thorough, with a chain of several hundred advisory bureaux throughout the country. By its constitution it bound itself not to take part in propaganda activity against the waging of war, this work being left to the anti-war organisations already in existence.

The pacifist movement, however, was being verbally flayed by many who wished to see a more radical opposition to war.

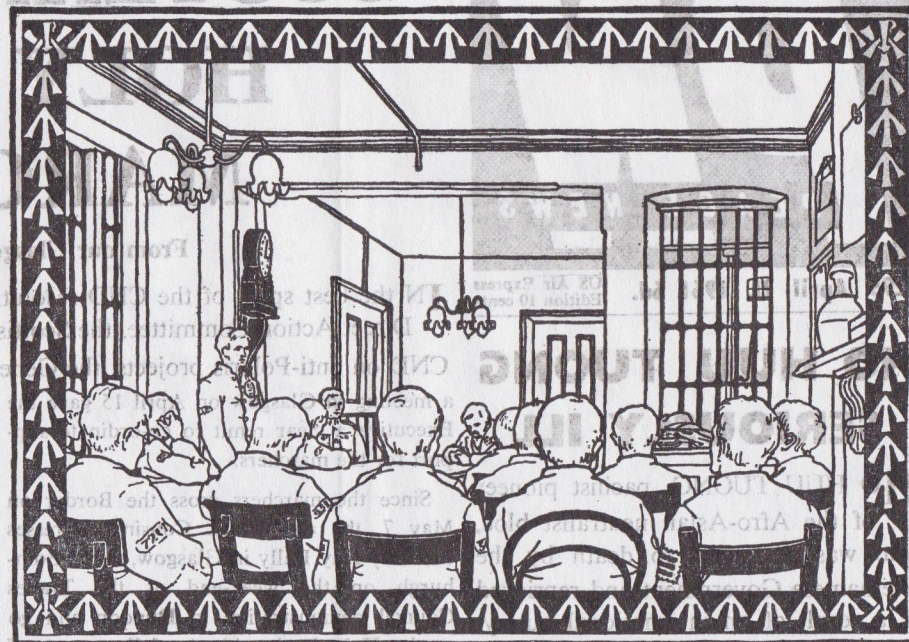
Reginald Reynolds, writing in June, 1941, declared the movement "uninspiring and, indeed, positively depressing to anyone who may have hoped for spirited war resistance. Had the pacifist 'movement' which preceded the war been anything but a bubble one would expect to see a much greater resistance to conscription than existed in the last war, preceded by no comparable 'movement'."

But like the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament twenty years later, the pacifist movement of the late 'thirties had its radical wing.

There were the absolutists who refused to register for military service, notifying the Ministry of Labour that they were not doing so and stating their readiness to face the consequences. There was an underground radio.

In some cases the Advisory Bureaus for COs provided a weekly meeting place for these young radicals. From one Bureau an "underground" printing press was organised and a "Stop the War" campaign undertaken during what was known as the "Phoney War" period which preceded Dunkirk and the threatened invasion.

They produced small posters and stickers and 100,000 four-page leaflets calling for a halt to hostilities which were



**A Quaker meeting in prison, from a drawing by S. Langford Jones, drawn in Pentonville Prison during World War I. Similar meetings were held during World War II and at the time when members of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War were imprisoned after protesting at rocket bases in 1959 and 1960. The scene has remained the same—only the uniforms have changed.**

refusal to give evidence, I cannot do better than quote from a report by A. Joe Brayshaw\*, then on the staff of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors:

The Judge Advocate read it aloud: "Sir, I regret I must refuse to give evidence against Ex-Provost-Sergeant Cullen. . . I have already forgiven him and cannot reconcile the giving of evidence, which might appear vindictive, against him."

The Judge Advocate (to the President of the Court): "In the case of a person subject to military law, if you, sir, give an order to Chadwick to give evidence, he must obey as a soldier."

President: "I order you to give evidence."

Chadwick: "I refuse."

President: "I'll give you two minutes, and if you don't obey I'll have you put under arrest."

The Judge Advocate then read Section 28 of the Army Act dealing with penalties.

It was a very long two minutes that passed in silence.

Chadwick: "I still refuse to give

Chadwick was marched away and later court-martialled on this and two other charges. He was sentenced to a total of two years' imprisonment, later commuted to twelve months.

The following day Lt. Fargher lost no time in claiming that Chadwick had refused to give evidence because his story could not withstand examination.

"I never expect to see greater moral courage than that of Frank Chadwick, sitting silent before a deeply hostile and suspicious court, and bearing punishment because he would not bear malice," Joe Brayshaw concluded.

Mockery though they were, the inquiry and courts-martial were sufficient to ensure that throughout four further years of war no other planned coercion was attempted in the Army.

\*Recorded in "Challenge of Conscience," by Dennis Hayes. Obtainable from Housmans, price 7s. 6d.





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## HO HUU TUONG SERIOUSLY ILL

HO HUU TUONG, pacifist pioneer of the Afro-Asian neutralist bloc, who was sentenced to death by the Vietnamese Government and reprieved as a result of an international outcry, is now reported seriously ill in prison where he is chained day and night.

Very little news of this venerable leader of the neutralist bloc has come out of the Far East, but some delegates at the War Resisters' International Conference in India last December were shown a copy of a letter said to have been dropped in the letter box of the Indian Embassy in Saigon in October last year by the Neutralist Group of South Vietnam.

This declared that the group were "touched and glad" at the growth of the Afro-Asian Bloc at the United Nations. "Touched because . . . our ideal leader, Mr. Ho Huu Tuong, the man who took the initiative in forming the neutralist bloc (The Third Way) is still imprisoned."

The Neutralist Group appealed to the Indian Ambassador to intervene in freeing

### On form

WE consider that the coming National Census offers a further opportunity for protest against nuclear weapons and of war preparations. No mention is made on the census forms of penalties for providing additional information. Our information will be that we are not only citizens of this country, but citizens who are determined to oppose the criminal and suicidal policy of the Gov-

# SCOTLAND PREPARES FOR HOLY LOCH MARCHERS

From our Glasgow Correspondent

IN the best spirit of the CND resolution urging full co-operation between the Direct Action Committee, the Scottish Council for Nuclear Disarmament and CND on anti-Polaris projects, the General Committee of the Scottish Council at a meeting in Glasgow on April 15 gave the Executive a clear remit to co-ordinate support for the marchers.

Since the marchers cross the Border on May 7, the day Frank Cousins addresses the May Day Rally in Glasgow, reach Edinburgh on the week-end of the Trades Council demonstration in Dunoon and go to the Holy Loch with the full support of the SCND, it is now certain that there will be a sustained fortnight of disarmament activity in Scotland which is likely to have far-reaching effects.

There has been much sincere debate in Scotland about the wisdom of aligning SCND directly with the London to Holy Loch March. It was held that alignment with an extremist minority might alienate solid Labour Party support and jeopardise the present excellent relations which the Campaign enjoys with the police.

### Changed outlook

However, the fact that the Polaris Action Group has not yet landed in a Scottish jail has tended to make this type of protest more acceptable and has earned the Group grudging admiration from doubters. An immediate result of the Committee decision will be to strengthen the hand of local Councils, previously charged individually with the responsibility of arranging accommodation and local demonstrations.

Newly emerged on the Scottish scene are unofficial co-ordinating committees at which members of various bodies work out a mutually acceptable pattern of protest. The Glasgow co-ordinating committee has already put in a power of selfless work at which the cause comes before the caucus. Lanarkshire now announce that they will

## MARCH PROGRESS



Photo : R. Rawlinson

THE Polaris protest march from London to the Holy Loch is due today (Friday) at Wakefield, moving on to Leeds to-night. To-morrow evening a meeting will be held at Harrogate.

The marchers going all the way still number about 20, with others joining for short periods, making an average of 30 or 40 each day. Three vehicles accompany the

## NEWS FROM THE NORTH

Captain R. B. Laning, of the Proteus, trod on a thistle when he hinted to an astonished Glasgow Rotary Club that the Polaris Action Group were receiving money from suspect sources. The Civil Lord of the Admiralty, Mr. Orr-Ewing, added to the innuendo when he told reporters after a recent visit to the Proteus: "The demonstrators were financially paid for. You must use your own resources to find out from where."

The *Sunday Telegraph* revealed in a long report that the Group are entirely dependent on private donations to supplement their own savings, and have published their detailed receipts, which are not as much as they ought to be.

### NO PROTEUS?

Proteus went on a "training" cruise last week, which may be a rehearsal for evasive action at Whit weekend. Far from this possibility being a disappointment, the absence of the Proteus in deference to the demonstrators will emphasise the justice of the demonstration and will effectively forestall press comment on anti-American lines. There is still Ardnadam Pier to sit on.

### UNILATERALISM AT ROTHSAY

Fifty anti-Polaris motions submitted by branches will be condensed in a composite resolution to be debated at the Scottish Trade Union Congress Annual Conference held this week in Rothsay. Ted Hill, who addresses the Conference, wore a CND lapel badge when he met Victor Grishin, fraternal delegate from the USSR at London Airport on Saturday.

### UNIONIST OR UNILATERALIST?

Prime Minister Macmillan will be challenged to give the people schools, hospitals, and houses instead of V-bombers when he addresses a Unionist Rally at Ayr on April 22. Clyde Coast Councils for Nuclear Disarmament are using the occasion to raise funds for the work ahead in May. The Conference Hall will be picketed throughout the day, and the two Scottish posters "You've never had it so radio-active" in tasteful Tory Blue and the chilling "Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Christmas Island, Holy Loch"

Third way) is still imprisoned.  
The Neutralist Group appealed to the Indian Ambassador to intervene in freeing

## On form

WE consider that the coming National Census offers a further opportunity for protest against nuclear weapons and of war preparations. No mention is made on the census forms of penalties for providing additional information. Our information will be that we are not only citizens of this country, but citizens who are determined to oppose the criminal and suicidal policy of the Government. We hope that others will do the same.—David Thomas, Maureen Richardson, Frances Edwards, Tony Smythe, 25 Sutherland Avenue, London, W.9.

their leader and to secure the recognition of a unified neutralist Vietnam able to play its part at UN as part of the Neutralist Bloc.

After reporting the reprieve in 1957, *Peace News* reported in July, 1958, that Ho Huu Tuong was being held on the island of Puolo Condor, 300 miles from the extreme South of Vietnam. It was doubted then whether he would survive the hard climate of the island.

has tended to make this type of protest more acceptable and has earned the Group grudging admiration from doubters. An immediate result of the Committee decision will be to strengthen the hand of local Councils, previously charged individually with the responsibility of arranging accommodation and local demonstrations.

Newly emerged on the Scottish scene are unofficial co-ordinating committees at which members of various bodies work out a mutually acceptable pattern of protest. The Glasgow co-ordinating committee has already put in a power of selfless work at which the cause comes before the caucus. Lanarkshire now announce that they will support an Escort March from Motherwell into Hamilton ending with a rally in Hamilton on the evening of Thursday, May 18.

This brings enormous additional strength to the Central Lanarkshire Council for Nuclear Disarmament. The chief strength of the co-ordinating committees is their unofficial nature. Members can forget the sectional interests of their organisations to further the Campaign and can make available special knowledge on probable reaction to proposals. It only takes an invitation from a CND group to Trades Council, Labour Party and Church supporters to form an effective co-ordinating committee in any area. This is an example which could well be followed throughout the country.

## HOW WE BOARDED THE PROTEUS

THE Polaris Action team at the Holy Loch succeeded in boarding the submarine depot ship Proteus on April 12. The three who floated in canoes under the rope ladders to climb aboard were Terry Chandler, Ruth Townsend, and John Whiteley.

*Terry Chandler reports :*

"We were welcomed on board. An officer met us and did in fact say 'Welcome on board.' We asked to see the captain, but were taken to the quarter-deck. We were there for about half an hour talking to a captain of the marines whom I had met before when aboard the ship and to the quartermaster and other officers and men who came up to us.

"Eventually the police came and carried

us away. On the police launch Ruth and I (John was unable to do so) attempted to go over the side so as to reboard the Proteus. Ruth was grabbed by the wrist and held. I actually managed to go over the side but was grabbed and thrown on to the floor of the launch.

"We continued as usual with our policy of non-co-operation in the police station. When we would not give our names we were told we would be detained till we did so and locked in separate cells. However, an hour later the superintendent arrived and we were released almost immediately. Our charges of behaviour likely to cause a breach of the peace and disorderly behaviour have not yet been dropped.

"That night we heard that the Proteus would be going out on exercise at the weekend. We informed the authorities and press



Photo : R. Rawlinson

THE Polaris protest march from London to the Holy Loch is due today (Friday) at Wakefield, moving on to Leeds to-night. To-morrow evening a meeting will be held at Harrogate.

The marchers going all the way still number about 20, with others joining for short periods, making an average of 30 or 40 each day. Three vehicles accompany the walkers all the way, and others have been helping for short periods. One of the permanent cars is towing a caravan-convertible which is amphibious. Its wheels removed, it can be used as a houseboat.

One of the whole-way walkers is Dr. Rachel Pinney, who holds regular surgery hours in the caravan, mainly to tend the walkers' feet.

About 1,500 people attended a Saturday afternoon rally in the centre of Nottingham. 200 marchers came into town, led by novelist Alan Sillitoe (see pictures), especially up from London for the occasion. He made his maiden speech at the marchers' rally. Other speakers included an official Trades Council delegate, a member of the

that we would attempt to obstruct it and started a continuous vigil. We phoned Proteus and told an officer of our plans and asked when the vessel was leaving and were told 8 a.m. on Sunday morning.

"At 8 a.m. exactly she started moving. The launches which had been circling us did nothing and the ship headed straight for the canoes, hitting them directly at quite a speed and badly damaging one of them. According to plan, the canoeists grabbed hold of the bow of the Proteus and held on.

"The canoeists were pulled several hundred yards before the tremendous pressure cast them away from the ship. At the stern of the Proteus the screws were churning the water up immensely."

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## UNIONIST OR UNILATERALIST?

Prime Minister Macmillan will be challenged to give the people schools, hospitals, and houses instead of V-bombers when he addresses a Unionist Rally at Ayr on April 22. Clyde Coast Councils for Nuclear Disarmament are using the occasion to raise funds for the work ahead in May. The Conference Hall will be picketed throughout the day, and the two Scottish posters "You've never had it so radio-active" in tasteful Tory Blue and the chilling "Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Christmas Island, Holy Loch" will be well in evidence.

Labour Party Executive, and an USDAW branch delegate.

"The arrival of the march in Loughborough," Pat Arrowsmith told *Peace News*, "has given birth to a CND group there.

"This has been the only town so far where overt organised opposition occurred. The marchers were preceded into town by a group of a dozen or so carrying a down-with-protest-marches poster (presumably they did not regard themselves as a protest march !).

"At the market square rally, attended by about 300 people, our speakers welcomed the protest marchers, who were invited to speak into the microphone and express their point of view to the meeting also. By the end of the meeting so many lively discussion groups had formed among the crowd that it was difficult to get the marchers 'home' to bed."

### Where to meet them

**To-day (Friday) :** Leave Northgate, Providence St., Wakefield, 8.20 a.m.; arrive Black Bull St., Leeds, 12.30 p.m.

**To-morrow (Saturday) :** Leave Leeds Town Hall 10.30 a.m.; arrive at the centre of Harrogate 6.30 p.m. Indoor meeting 7.30 p.m.

**April 23 (Sunday) :** Leave Royal Hall, Harrogate, 9.45 a.m.; arrive Ripon for meeting in Market Square 3.30 p.m.

**April 24 (Monday) :** Leave Market Square, Ripon, 9.30 a.m.; meet deputation at boundary of Thirsk 2.45 p.m.; meeting in Thirsk Market Square 3 p.m.

**April 25 (Tuesday) :** Leave Thirsk Market Square 10.30 a.m.; arrive Northallerton for open-air meeting 5 p.m.

**April 26 (Wednesday) :** Leave Northallerton Market Square 11.15 a.m.; arrive outskirts of Darlington 7 p.m. Open-air meeting centre of Darlington 7.30 p.m.

**April 27 (Thursday) :** Rest in Darlington.  
**April 28 (Friday) :** Meeting at Market Cross, Stockton, 7 p.m.

**April 29 (Saturday) :** Leave Darlington Market Place 8 a.m.; arrive Stockton, to be met by Trades Council delegation 1 p.m.; arrive West Hartlepool 7.30 p.m.

**April 30 (Sunday) :** Leave West Hartlepool 9 a.m.; arrive Sunderland 6 p.m.